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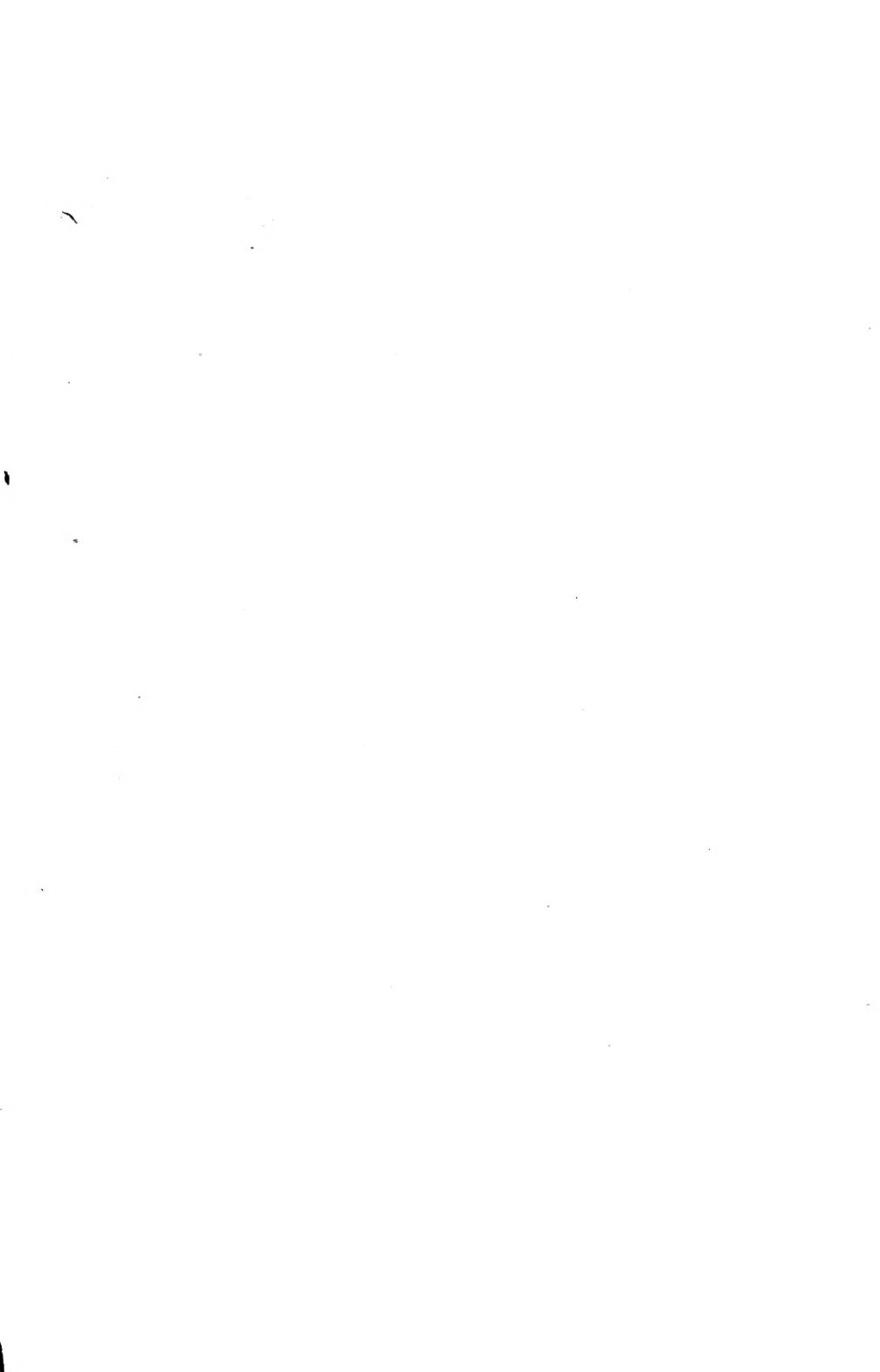


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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



The Secession of the Whole South an Existing
Fact. A Peaceable Separation the True
Course. Its Effect on Peace and Trade Be-
tween the Sections.

Henry Reed

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The following articles were published in the CINCINNATI DAILY PRESS, at the dates stated. At the request of some of our most substantial business men, and because the calls upon us show a large demand from our citizens, for circulation, we have reproduced them in this form without revision, trusting to the circumstances to excuse any abruptness of style in articles written for a daily paper, and any repetitions growing out of reference to each other :

[From the Daily Press of January 23.]

Coercion and Compromise.

The Secession question is argued as if the only alternative were coercion or concession. Not that the South propose to concede, but that they have seceded; and they must either be coerced back into the Union, or be persuaded to come back by concessions from the North. We need not repeat that the PRESS has never taken any such ground, but has from the first argued against the contemplation of coercion of the South by the North in any event. We have argued from the first that it is a Southern question, and should be settled by the South, without any outside pressure, and that the North should abide their decision.

The Government should die decently, of course. It should not permit itself to be robbed of its property, driven out of its forts by force, and bullied and disgraced by rebels. It has received insult and injury enough at Charleston alone to justify it in laying that town level with the ground; and if it had been done when the *Star of the West* was fired on, the majority of the people of the whole nation would have applauded. But this is another question. It is whether the Government shall be coerced, before negotiation has been even offered.

Nor have we tolerated the loose terms which Secession has introduced, by which a Government of the people, as solid and whole as any Government on earth, is changed into a confederation of independent States, which make our Constitution a rope of sand, and give any turbulent division out of the thirty-three, the right to dictate new terms to the whole, and destroy their peace and prosperity.

This is no such Government. At least, that is not the Government which the authors of the Constitution made. If it has become so now, it shows the delusive character and total unreliability of written constitutions. But whatever the political nature of the Union may be, it is worth nothing if not founded in the unity, affinity and fraternity of the people.

A Union which must be preserved by force, is not fit to be preserved. It would destroy the foundation of human rights. We are not questioning the rights of Government to enforce its laws. This Government has that right as much as any Government. But we are considering a movement against the Government, large enough to take a popular form, and to make pretensions to a separate national existence. The people of a Territory larger than that of some of the great European Powers, have declared that the hostility of sentiment and interests, of social and domestic relations, and even of religion, between them and the people of the free States, is such that the Union is odious to them, and they will not endure it. There is every indication that they will be joined by every slave State. There seems to be no organized opposition to the movement in the whole South, and such opposition as there is, only proposes palliatives which will but continue the disease, to break out again.

Certainly the movement has assumed proportions sufficient to give it national pretensions. We are bound by the principles of our Government to consider it as such. It is elevated from a question of the enforcement of the law, to one of conquering an united people to a Union which they have thrown off.

We hold this truth to be self-evident: that no Government has a right to exist which is not founded in the affections of the people. The South—we speak of the whole South, believing that every Southern State will wheel into the Secession line—have declared that a Government in which the North exercise that control which is allowed the majority by our Constitution, is odious to them, and they will not endure it. Nobody can seriously talk of coercion under such circumstances. It would be a monstrosity which the history of despotic Governments could not parallel; and for a Government which pretends to exist only by the consent of the governed, it would be mocking at the principles on which it established its existence.

Will force form a more perfect Union? Will concessions? What concessions will change the sentiments of the people of the two sections, which, under a Union which has been regarded as perfect, have grown so hostile that it must now be broken? Are the sentiments of the people of the South toward those of the North going to be changed by concessions to their demands? They do not promise any such thing, and nobody expects it. We may profess our friendship; but they declare their hostility for us to be such, that for us to exercise our constitutional rights in the Government, makes it unendurable to them.

Are there any concessions that will obviate the growing preponderance of our numbers, and prevent the free States from having any control in the Government? None. However much we may concede now, time will bring round the time when the preponderance of population in the free States will again assert its constitutional rights. Can we promise the South that the sentiments of the people of the North toward slavery will be changed? They are the same now that they ever were; no more anti-slavery and no less. To promise the South any such change, is merely to betray them. Yet they declare that their hostility to the Union is on account of the sentiments of the people of the North, and that until these are totally changed or subdued, no Union with them can exist. What political missionary is going to promise to the South the day of Pentecost, which shall convert the people of the North from sentiments which are in-

herent in their nature; which they have always entertained, and, with few exceptions, do so still, without distinction of party, and which are held by the whole world?

The objections of the South to the Union are radical, going to the whole character of our people. They declare that if this is not eradicated they will not submit to a union with the North, unless they can control the Government. Concessions will not change the character of our people; and it is difficult to imagine any that will permanently destroy their political power. Coercion of a united South would be folly, whether successful or not. It is out of the question. The only radical and permanent cure for the difficulties is peaceable division, allowing each section to work out its destiny according to the genius and institutions of its people. This will restore peace, harmony, and mutual respect, and allow the laws of trade to resume their sway, all of which are now destroyed or endangered by a political Union, which, on one side at least, has resulted in such intense hostility. The effect of this division we propose to consider farther in other articles.

[From the Daily Press, of January 30.]

Secession the Only Way to Peaceful Relations between the Sections.

In a previous article on Secession, we took the ground that any attempt to retain the seceding States in the Union by force is out of the question, as an alternative in any event, whether it may be called enforcement of the Constitution and laws, or coercion of States: That the whole South is united against the present, or late, Union and Constitution; therefore Secession has assumed the proportions and pretensions of a popular and national movement, and is entitled to be treated as such; and it would violate the fundamental principle of our liberty to attempt to put it down by force: That the Union is odious to the people of the South, and they have, with an appearance of unanimity, thrown it off: That their declared hostility to it extends to the very sentiments of the Northern people, which they pronounce to be incompatible with their safety in the Union: That the sentiments of the people in the North are the same that they always entertained; therefore it is hopeless to expect a radical change in them: That no concessions can touch what the South declare to be the real cause of their hostility:

That no concessions can prevent the growing preponderance of the non-slaveholding people in this Government; which will be a constant source of disturbance and fear to the South: That no matter how much the North may be bound by new guarantees now, it will eventually assert its right to its constitutional share of the Government; which the South declare incompatible with their safety, and a tyranny which they will not endure.

Few, either North or South, who think with sincerity on this question, and who divest it from narrow considerations of the reconstruction of a political party out of the destruction of the Constitution, and from any regard for the peaceable control of the Federal offices for a Presidential term, will undertake seriously to dispute any of these positions. They are merely a statement of existing facts. From them the conclusion is irresistible, that the only solution of this question is by a peaceable separation, relieving each section from the restraints, burdens, influences and institutions of the other, and permitting each to work out its destiny in perfect freedom.

In considering the effects of separation, the uppermost one in the minds of this material generation, is its effect upon trade; and as peace is essential to trade, the first branch of the question is what will be the relations between the two sections, when established as independent nations. They will be like those of all independent nations—"enemies in war; in peace friends." Before we go further, we had better look at these relations in the Union; because, if there is any difficulty in the argument, we may claim the advantage of the present stand-point. What has been the operation of the Union on our fraternal relations with the South? Beginning with a friendship established by mutual support through a long foreign war for independence, and with a mutual sympathy and friendship which we are accustomed to refer to in the most affecting terms, a hostility has grown up between the sections, which has constantly increased, until the intensity of hatred on one side is not paralleled by the hostility between any separate nations or tribes, either civilized or savage. Citizens entitled to the protection of law throughout the Union, are not allowed even the hu-

manity which the laws of civilized warfare concede to prisoners of war. A citizen of the free States would be safer traveling alone and unprotected among the most savage tribes of Africa, or of the Islands of the South Sea, than within a portion of our Union. Nowhere else on earth does the mere calling of a stranger by an epithet, deliver him up to the cruelties of a savage mob.

This is what has resulted in the Union; and this we are entitled to take as our starting-point in considering the effect of a separation upon our peace. And starting from this, there is no possibility in the future of separate existence, so bad as the present. Of all the nations of the earth, the citizens of the free States are the only people who are not respected and protected in the Southern part of their Union. England is an abolition nation. Nobody ever dreams that an Englishman is not opposed to slavery. But he may travel throughout the South in safety. The ægis of an independent nation protects him. Canada is the asylum for fugitive slaves; but a Canadian may travel throughout the South, while a citizen of Ohio, which faithfully delivers fugitives, is liable to every personal outrage, solely on account of his residence in the Union.

This is the way the Union operates. Are we not justified in pronouncing it a failure? Are not the South, who believe their hatred and barbarity toward the people of the North, to be well-founded and just, right in throwing off a Union in which the Northern people may, by any possibility, control the Government?

Is there any hope of any thing better in the Union? We can only judge of the future by the past. Hostility to the people of the North has become the sole political capital of Southern politicians. He who can most intensify and gratify the popular hatred of the Northern people, will carry most votes. It is political death to any public man to profess friendship for the people of the free States, or to advocate a Union with them which shall not be subject to Southern demands. Does the present hostile attitude of the South promise to ameliorate their sentiments toward the North? Do they not cherish every disgrace inflicted upon the national flag by their hostility, as a victory over the North, just as we cherish the victories of the Revolution? And do they not

count upon the submission of the North to their demands as a prospective Southern triumph?

We are in a state of hostility of sentiment, at least on one side, which an actual civil war could hardly intensify; and if it existed between two separate nations, a war could only ameliorate it. The South Carolina Senator said truly, when he described this hostility between the sections, just before he withdrew from the Senate, and declared a Union of elements which, even in their social relations, were hostile, to be unnatural. We may declare our friendship; but he at least was entitled to speak for the sentiment of his section, and he spoke truly.

They declare that their hostility to us is founded in our opinions and convictions. Can we promise a change? They are the same that the people of the North have always had; and which are entertained by the whole world, outside the circle of those of the South whose interest governs their convictions. They propose no interference with the South; but when was it ever heard of, that a free people gave up their opinions and conscientious convictions, and consented to hold none but such as were dictated to them as the price of political relations?

Any change from the present relations would be toward peace. This hostility and hatred have been caused by a Union of discordant elements. So long as the Union exists, it will only increase. Independent nations respect each other; and if the people of the North, when released from a bond which compels them to submit while their citizens are sacrificed to the Southern Moloch, have not the power and the disposition to secure respect for the persons and property of their citizens in any civilized country, they will be unfit for national existence, and then it will be time for them to submit to the South on such terms as it may grant.

We are accustomed to talk as if, when disunited, the people of the two sections would naturally fly at each others' throats; and history is brought in to show that border nations must necessarily be at war. Men never looked into history so far as the end of their noses, who draw this conclusion from it. Wars have always grown out of a union of discordant people, not from their

contiguity as separate nations. To begin the evidence at home: Under the Union our relations with the South are constantly growing more hostile. With the separate people of Canada on our northern border, with a frontier just as extensive, our relations, commercial and social, are constantly growing more friendly and intimate.

Mexico is an illustration of a Union without affinity; and is a faint type of what this Union between hostile sections will be, if it is continued, no matter whether by force, in its present shape, or by patching it with compromises.

England has always been foremost among nations in anti-slavery sentiment and movements; and it now holds out an asylum within reach of Southern slaves. The anti-slavery sentiment of the people of the North is far less active and radical than that of the English. But England is a separate power; therefore, South Carolina, which throws off a Union with the people of the North, solely on account of their anti-slavery sentiments, flies to abolition England for a political and commercial alliance; and even offers to depend on her for protection.

We may see the undying hostility of a Union of unfriendly elements in that of Austrian and Magyar, of Austrian and Italian, of Turk and Christian, and of English and Irish. Our own relations with England have been enlarging ever since our separation from her. We trust we need say nothing more to dispose of the historical argument against the independence of States. People refer back to a feudal age, when wars were undertaken for plunder and profit, and to furnish employment for bands of retainers. But that has gone out with the growth of industry and increase of wealth. The South can not afford to make war, except for a cause vital to their safety. If they were even so warlike as they profess, their institutions are a pretty good guarantee of their peacefulness, as to any war which two could play at; and the industry and wealth of the North are a sufficient bond for their keeping the peace.

A separation is the restoration of peace, and will be the beginning of that mutual respect for the rights of each, which exists among all independent nations. It will withdraw all obstacles to the laws of trade, which are supreme over national bounda-

ries, but which are now impeded by sectional hostility; and it will build up that commercial honor and integrity which usually exists among the merchants of different nations in their mutual transactions; but which now so readily finds a shelter for mercantile dishonor in sectional fanaticism; and makes its fraud a patriotic duty to its section. We shall consider further the effect of separation on trade in another article.

[From the Daily Press of February 1]

The Effect of a Peaceable Separation on Trade.

We desire, in order to prevent misunderstanding and misrepresentation, that our readers will bear in mind the positions we have taken in previous articles on a peaceable separation of the sections, and the establishment of two independent nations, based on the attachment and homogeneity of the people. We take the Secession of the whole South as an existing fact, either an accomplished fact, or a fact declared by the position taken by those States which have not formally seceded. We assume that coercion is out of the question, and in violation of the principle on which our national independence is founded.

We accept, also, the declarations of the South, that their hostility to a Union with the North goes to the very sentiments, opinions, abstract principles and even religion of the people; which, they say make a Union with the North incompatible with their safety; therefore, that no concessions can touch the real seat of the difficulty; and that the only alternative is a peaceable separation, or a bloody civil war, which can have no other end but in separation. We have discussed the effects of separation on the relations of the two sections, and have shown that the Union has resulted in nothing but constantly-increasing hostility, which has reached a degree of intensity that must have relief in some way; and that separation is the only way to peace, and will restore that friendship and mutual respect for the citizens, rights and power of each, which independent nations accord to each other.

We discussed this question in view of its effect on trade, and showed by our own experience with the South and with other nations, that the sectional hostility which the Union creates, is the only hindrance to commercial relations between the North and

South; and that separate independence would remove all obstacles, and relieve commerce from the burden of political questions and sectional fanaticism. Separation and independence being the only way to peace, we propose to consider further the effect on trade.

It is the custom of politicians to tell our people that our trade with the South depends on the Union. By this the people of the South are supposed to buy our provisions, machinery, clothes, furniture, etc., because they are joined to us by a bond of Union. Yet if our citizens go South they Lynch them for their residence alone; or in their mildest moods, they give them an hour to leave. Does this show a state of fraternal feeling that drives them North to purchase goods out of pure love for the people who are bound to them by the same glorious Union? They don't serve the British so, who are not protected by the fraternal bonds and the star-spangled banner.

Is there not a slight discrepancy here? Will the Union trade-panic makers state how it is that people, whom Union makes so intensely hostile to us, come to us to trade, out of pure love and natural sympathy? If to state the position did not show to every one the utter absurdity of talking of the Union as a bond of trade, we should despair for the Republic; a thing which Mr. Buchanan very kindly consents not to do, so long as Virginia will demand fresh concessions from the North.

Is there a man who buys what he don't want, because the glorious stripes and stars cover the seller? Will any man pay half a dime extra on a barrel of pork or flour, because it is sold under the Palmetto and Rattlesnake, or the Pelican flag? Now any merchant knows that it is nonsense to talk of any such thing. There is not a merchant of our city who does not know that the laws of trade are the higher-law over political boundaries; and that all which they need is to be relieved from all political considerations, to have their full sway. They overcome even the present sectional fanaticism; and men who at home are compelled to support vigilance committees for driving off or Lynching our citizens, for their residence alone, come here and buy our commodities.

But politicians, who have a place hanging on the Union, or on some party capital to be made out of a pretended worship of the

Union, talk as if the trade of Cincinnati were dependent on it; and this is allowed to go as the sentiment of the mercantile and industrial community here. But it is not the sentiment. There is not a man of them, who would not regard one who bought goods which he did not want, on account of the nationality of the seller, as an unsafe customer to trust; and who does not know that supply and demand are supreme over nationalities; and that one per cent. on the price of goods will overcome the strongest national boundary that was ever erected.

England once regarded our union with her as necessary to the relations of trade; but they have been constantly increasing since the separation. The commercial relations between New York and England are more friendly and reliable, and better established on mutual integrity and honor, than between New York and the South. So are the relations of the North with Canada. It is because they are relieved from political considerations. We have referred in a former article to the disposition of South Carolina to make an alliance with England, the foremost anti-slavery nation in the world. But the South respect anti slavery sentiment in a separate nation; while they can not endure a Union with it.

Politicians say that the South can produce every thing that it consumes. So can the North. It can produce silk, wine, sugar, brandy, wool, cloths, laces, shawls, calicoes, dye-stuffs, iron, hardware, and almost every thing which it imports. Yet its imports are constantly increasing. Why does not the South produce that which it buys of the North? Simply because it can do better. For precisely the same reason that the North imports a hundred and fifty millions of dollars' worth of articles every year, which its own soil and labor can produce. Who is going to stop this, North or South? The South talk of introducing manufactories. Even creative power can not establish manufactories where they are not drawn by the laws of profit and loss.

Skilled labor requires intelligence, and intelligence has opinions. How is skillful industry to grow up in a country where opinions are held to be dangerous to the social relation, and are incompatible with personal safety? It would be like introducing Christianity among a people who regard baked missionary as one of the necessities of

life. To educate labor in the South, would be as safe as to run a locomotive into a powder magazine.

But it is unnecessary to take these considerations into the account. Things are as they are, because the laws of trade have so settled them. So, also, in regard to produce which does not require skilled labor. Does any-body suppose that a Mississippi planter buys Cincinnati pork for his negroes, instead of raising it, for love of the Union. Our merchants would call such a man a fool; yet our fancy political philosophers are accustomed to talk so. Suppose the Ohio River were the boundary between two nations, and even suppose the South should resolve to purchase no more Northern produce in any market where the star-spangled banner flies—that wonderful piece of bunting on which our trade is now supposed to hang. Would the price of a barrel of pork or flour vary one cent between Louisville and Evansville, or Cincinnati? Would not one market govern the other, and every sale, in either place, be so much reduction from the general stock? And generally the price at Liverpool, 3,000 miles off, would govern them all. So much for political boundaries governing markets.

Would it not be well to know something of the present dimensions of this Southern trade. It has been made such a night mare of, in this city, that many well-meaning people believe it to be vital to our existence as a city. But outside of those articles of provisions which the South buys here because she must buy them in the North, the Southern trade is not more than one-fifth of the trade of Cincinnati. The trade of Southern Indiana is three times as great as that of the whole South. Yet our politicians never allude to the Indiana trade as worthy of notice. This Southern trade is not equally distributed among our manufactures, therefore a few kinds are much more interested in it than the rest.

Our trade has suffered some this winter on account of the crisis; therefore trifling politicians say the Union must be reconstructed at any cost, so as to restore our trade, even by exposing it to the same crisis periodically. But it is not because Southern trade has stopped; for exports to the South have fallen off but little, if any, in the aggregate. Secession is the occasion of our commercial difficulties; but the elements of

which they are composed are no longer under the control of Secession, and are reacting in spite of it; and trade is improving. Secession stopped Southern payment of debts. That was a dead loss of a large amount to Cincinnati. But Secession can not do that again, for it also stopped their credit, and now they have to pay cash. The change to the Secession basis of trade necessarily causes some curtailment; but the trade is all the more healthy. Before, the Southern credit business was regarded as extra hazardous. Our merchants will be well satisfied with the change, and time will assuage the loss of the old score.

But the greatest loss inflicted on our people was by the collapse of our paper money. One hundred millions of dollars in the Northwest has been cut down ten per cent. on its value. That is our fault and our shame. If Secession will wipe the whole swindle out of existence, then posterity should buy up the bones of Yancey at \$200,000, that being the assessed value of bones of the fathers of their country, in the Southern market, and should make pilgrimages to his tomb. We will even offer to go \$50,000 better—to use a Southern commercial phrase—for a delivery so much greater. If relief from this ghastly swindle could be purchased by Secession, it would be dog-cheap.

Secession is no more responsible for this than the Ohio Life and Trust Bank was for a similar collapse in 1857; and reconstruction of the Union is no more a cure, than the reconstruction of that bank would have been a cure for that crisis. Here is where our people may find the seat of their difficulties and losses. Our currency might and should be such that even the day of judgment could not disturb it. But a fool, like Keitt, may kick the currency of this great country into convulsions. Until our working-men sweep this swindle, which speculates upon their bones and sinews, from our legislation, it is a ghastly joke for them to talk of capacity for self-government.

From this grew most of the other evils. Great commercial relations suddenly found the currency dropped from under them. The currency-panic curtailed at once the enterprises that depend on credit. The change, North and South, from a credit and spurious currency to a cash basis, caused a temporary curtailment, until cash could overtake the usual credit time. A large

portion of the Western banks seceded from redemption, leaving the people to suffer the depreciation on their notes. While we give Secession its due in the South, let us remember that it is honorable and noble, compared with the meanness and robbery of this Bank Secession. Southern Secession is not responsible for this Bank swindle. The Banks have only made Secession the occasion, just as Southern traders have made it the occasion, to repudiate their debts.

The causes and elements of our commercial disturbance are now beyond the reach of Secession. Trade is reviving in spite of it; and if the two sections are not forced into a war, the Spring will find all branches of industry revived and prosperous, subject to such a diminution of the Southern trade as was inevitable from the short crop of cotton. What our city wants is peace—a permanent peace. We do not want to have all our losses go merely to heal up the sectional hostility on paper, while it is preserved in the hearts of the people of the South, to break out again on the first occasion. Industry is king. The history of the world shows that skilled industry has always made agricultural peoples tributary to it. Cincinnati has the skilled industry. All she needs is that it shall be relieved from political elements and sectional fanaticism, and from its unnatural connection with sentiments, opinions and religions. That can only be done by a peaceful separation, which will annihilate at once all the questions on which sectional hostility has grown up, and will leave the laws of trade and of mutual interest to have free course and be glorified.

[From the Daily Press of February 4.]

Is Reconstruction of a Stable Union Between the Hostile Sections Possible?

It were well if politicians would look at existing facts, and cease their impotent drivel about preserving a Union which is already destroyed. The Union has ceased to exist, by the action of fifteen States, which are in complete alliance, offensive and defensive, against it; and which defy the Constitution and laws with perfect impunity. On the other hand, the North has ceased to expect that the Union—that is the Constitution—can be preserved. It is too late to talk of the unconstitutionality of Secession, or of the constitutional powers of the Federal Government to enforce its laws and maintain its territorial integrity. Parchment powers are

annihilated by present facts. Whatever powers the Government had, it has vacated by recognizing Secession as an existing fact, which it has no right to resist. And now the North has also recognized Secession as an accomplished fact, and as having rights superior to the Constitution, by sending Commissioners to concede to it terms outside the Constitution, in order to reconstruct a Union. Thus by the overt acts of one section, and their recognition as rights by the other, and by the vacation of its constitutional powers by the Federal Government, the Union is dissolved, and has ceased to be considered as a possibility.

Events move with such startling speed in the rapid demoralization and destruction of our Government, that theories and principles are left far behind. All questions about the right of coercion and of the enforcement of the Constitution and laws, and about the principles of the Constitution, and of compromises for the preservation of the Union, are waived and set aside, both North and South, by the general acceptance of the actual division of the Union, as the *status* from which a reconstruction of the Constitution and a new Union are to be formed.

What kind of a Government must that be which can now be formed by a union with the South? It will be a Government with the established right of Secession. A Government with the right of any turbulent State of the thirty-four, or more, to destroy it: the inauguration of anarchy with constitutional forms and powers. The condition which Mexico has arrived at, after many years of revolution and decay, will be by us elevated into a principle of Government, and established over our Constitution.

Secession will be established as a means of controlling our elections. It will be the political capital to which the politicians of the South will ever appeal, both as a means of exciting their own people, and of operating upon the North. Every recurrence of a Presidential election will be a threatened crisis, to throw the industrial and financial interests of this great country into convulsions. A Southern demagogue, in an insignificant State, which, perhaps, may owe its whole existence to our bounty, can fire this great Confederacy as easily as one of the same sort fired the Temple of Ephesus, and win greater notoriety without any of the risk.

It will be a Union which recognizes the demands of the South as the measure of the submission of the North; which the North clings to on any terms that the South may grant, and the South habitually spurns as abjectly subject to its demands; which the North is to make the supreme object of its loyalty, and the South to hold as existing only by its sufferance; which the North accepts as vital to its prosperity and its very existence; and therefore, which the South naturally must regard as a privilege which it grants on its own terms, and which is to be violated at convenience.

It will no longer be a Union of equals; but of arrogant superiority and peremptory threats on one side, and of accepted vassalage on the other; a Union which one section sets up as to be preserved at the sacrifice of its natural and constitutional rights; and the other holds subservient to its lightest abstraction, and as only a means of coercing the North into submission to its constantly increasing demands. It will be a Union in which the constantly increasing preponderance of free population in the North, will have to be counterbalanced by constant surrenders of constitutional rights and political power to the South.

Were arrogant demands ever satisfied by submission, so long as one right remained to be surrendered? If they were, then might we hope to satisfy the South by concession; but until human nature is reversed, one surrender will be only the basis for fresh demands. A reconstruction of the Union will make all our industrial and commercial interests, and the constantly-growing wealth of the North, the sport of desperate politicians in both sections. The power to throw our financial relations into convulsions will be a political resource constantly holding out a temptation to reckless political adventurers in the South. The savings, earnings and very subsistence of the millions of free laborers in the North, will be placed at the mercy of political agitators like Keitt, Toombs and Wigfall, who, when political quiet at home has left them without resource, can always resort to the fanaticism against the North, with a certainty that all the damage they can do to the Union will result in concessions to the South. Rebellion against the Union will have before it constantly the temptation of a reward; and any future election of a Northern President whom the South

can not control, will always bring the worst elements of their society to the surface, and give them the control of their politics and the peace of the country.

Will that be a Government which will "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity?" It will be organized anarchy; perpetual revolution; the higher law of rebellion, supreme over constitutions; and claiming the destruction of the industry of the North as one of its legitimate powers for controlling the Government. Such a Government would be unfit to exist. A Government which makes the destruction of the industry of its people a tool for political agitation, would be a political atrocity which would deserve to be crushed out of existence. The most absolute despotism which should recognize the whole people as its subjects, would be a relief from such a Government.

Would such a Union ameliorate sectional hostility, and restore such relations between North and South as are necessary to peace? A Union of equals has resulted in constantly increasing hostility. It has been excited to an intensity in the South which is unparalleled by the feeling between any independent nations which are actually at war. A reconstruction will establish this fanaticism as the strongest and most available capital for their politicians.

Will submission to those who hate us, win their love? If that were the policy, none of the proposed concessions go half far enough. They must be in some degree proportioned to the intensity of the hatred. Will submission quiet sectional political agitation at the North? Every man knows that on any of the proposed concessions from the Constitution, the agitation in the North will break out with four-fold intensity; and that if the South need new guarantees on account of Northern sentiment and Northern agitation now, they will need them vastly more in six months from the time they are made.

We discuss this question chiefly in view of its relation to our industrial interests, which are in danger of being sacrificed to organized anarchy under the name of Union. Industry, which requires public peace, is in danger of being made the victim of perpetual political agitation and of chronic war, for a mere political bond, which in itself only

creates a thing for the South to agitate against. And in the industrial, we include all our material interests of trade and commerce, which are all founded on labor. A reconstruction of a union of such elements, and on such conditions, will place all these interests at the mercy of the political agitators of a people so hostile to us that they now are longing openly for the time when, on account of distress caused by their present agitation, Northern laborers shall march our streets with pikes and firebrands in their hands, crying "bread or blood."

Is there any national power or honor to be achieved by such a reconstruction. Our nation is now demoralized and humiliated in the eyes of the whole world. Even Mexico, which our President has talked of protecting; and Cuba, which our President talked of buying or seizing from poor effete Spain; and Turkey, "the sick man," all laugh us to scorn. We have exposed the weakness of our national Government to the whole world. And all can see that a reconstruction would be merely covering up the same rottenness, ready to fall into dissolution at any moment. What nation will now respect our power, when it knows that it may negotiate with any one of our thirty-four States for separate terms, or for a separation? and when the great European Powers have been approached by different States of this Republic, seeking a separate alliance. In the eyes of the world, our Government is already more demoralized than that of Mexico, for no State of that Republic has ever made advances to a foreign power for an alliance against the rest. Any foreign power may now defy our threats, for it is known that we have an internal hostility between the sections, far greater than any which at least one section can feel for any Foreign enemy; and that at any severe trial of our resources, our Government will fall to pieces. A Government without strength at home, can never command respect abroad. Mexico has shown national fidelity in all her partisan warfare. Our rank as a national power under any reconstruction of such elements, must be lower than that of Mexico. The State of New York alone, or those of New England, could command more respect abroad as a national power, than can any union of all of these hostile elements; and would have more real strength.

A Government can not be reconstructed by the sacrifice of the Constitution to armed rebellion, that will have that consent of the governed which we proclaim to be the only just foundation for Governments. It would be the inauguration of a fresh agitation that would exceed any thing which has gone before. But suppose the Union were reconstructed on new guaranties to slavery. Is that the only question that may dissolve the Union? Instead of that, any of the political questions that are used for agitation may threaten the Union. It was dissolved once on the tariff question. Had that Secession been encouraged by the abdication of all its powers by the Government, as now, and by promise of concessions in proportion to its demands, that would have progressed just as the present movement has under that treatment. It was crushed by the firmness of Gen. Jackson. Unfortunately, after it was effectually broken, Mr. Clay preserved it as a future resort, by a compromise, which nullification claimed as a triumph. The judgment of that eminent statesman gave way to the bitter hostility between himself and Gen. Jackson, and he was willing to secure to himself the good will of those whom Gen. Jackson's firmness had made hostile, by a compromise, which, after budding out on various occasions, has now borne its full fruit.

The question of revenue would at once threaten the Union again, if it could be relieved from the slavery agitation. It contains in the future, more elements to try the strength of the Union, than it had in the past; and, demoralized as the Union now must be, it would overthrow it.

A reconstruction of the Union would be the inauguration of new schemes for forcing the Government into a war for annexation, to restore the power of the South in the Senate. Law can not restrain these enterprises; and any outbreak will drag our Government into war; and then acquisitions of territory must follow. Millions without limit will be drawn from the industry of the people of the North to buy territory, which as soon as we have lavished our money upon it, will turn upon us and "resume the powers which were granted to the Union," and will have the power to destroy the Government.

Another dissolution would only be a question of time. It is not probable that any honest man will dispute this position. And

the whole aim of the South would be to prepare itself, at the expense of the Federal Government, for another and final separation.

What is it to which it is proposed to sacrifice the welfare of this great people of the North? A political bond already broken and trampled under foot at the South; but which at the North it is sought to make the more sacred, the more it is violated. Reconstruction is chronic anarchy, the supremacy of rebellion, increasing sectional fanaticism, civil war and another dissolution. A separation of the sections is peace, the creation of that mutual respect which the people of independent nations secure from each other, the banishment of the slavery question from our politics, the emancipation of trade from all connection with political opinions, and the beginning of friendly relations between the sections, which will vastly extend their commercial relations with each other. And instead of the trade of Cincinnati with the South being but about one-fifth of its entire trade—outside of those articles of provisions which the South buys in the North for the same reason that we buy tea in China—it will grow to be the largest share. Nothing but political hostility has prevented that hitherto; and so long as our politics are connected with theirs, this will continue a weight upon the prosperity of this city.

We have discussed this question chiefly from a local view, although the same reasons apply to the whole North. We are satisfied that political relations have been a burden upon the growth of this city, by depriving it of that trade with the South, which, if the laws of trade were free from political considerations, it would have. While the political bond continues, it will continue to bind our progress. The temporary success of one party or the other furnishes no relief, and never will. Now that the South has broken this mere political bond, let us improve the occasion to the emancipation of our own industry and all our interests from a burden upon their prosperity, and a danger perpetually suspended over them.

We accept the separation which the South has declared, out of no ill-will to the people of the South, but believing that it is the only way to that security of peace, property and the public welfare, which it is the first duty of Government to provide. We believe that it will be mutually advantageous to the North and South; and in another

article shall give some considerations to show that a separation, by enabling the South to carry out in some way a policy on which it is bent, will greatly promote its prosperity, and bring a corresponding benefit to the trade and industry of the North.

[From the *Daily Press* of February 5.]

The Future of a Southern Republic.

A peaceable separation of the Union implies but two National Governments, to be formed out of its materials; at least on the Atlantic side of the Continent. The people of the Southern States have shown an affinity for each other, as exemplified by their readiness to take up arms for each other against the Government, and have ties of interest that will consolidate them into a strong Central Government. The right of Secession is purely a Southern right against the North; and a doctrine so destructive to all stability and public safety, will be provided against, as soon as the South is relieved from an outside pressure which makes it regard Secession as a Southern right. They will take care at the start to guard against any future tendency of the Border States to Secession, which may grow out of the "irrepressible conflict," which separation will transfer bodily to the south of Mason and Dixon's line. Whatever form the Government may take, it will be a strong Central Government. And, with long Presidential terms, no Government in the world would have stronger central power than one under our constitutional form, with the same scale of official patronage.

The interests of slave labor will control the Southern Republic. It is unnecessary to argue that point. An interest which has controlled a Government in which the interests of free labor comprised two-thirds of the numbers and wealth of the governing class, will have unlimited sway at the beginning of a Republic which is founded entirely on the interests of slave labor.

The Southern Republic will be well and wisely governed, according to their interest. If there is any capacity for government in the people of the North American States, the South has it by prescription and practice in this Union.

We do not agree with the current idea that a Southern Republic will result in the Africanization of the Gulf States. This seems to be based on the theory that the Africans

in the South are restrained by the union with the North. The slightest reflection will show its absurdity. Besides, the slaves have learned from the political harangues of their own masters, that the people of the North are Abolitionists. Cuba is not Africanized, although the proportion of slaves and of free blacks to the whites is larger than in any of the Southern States, and it has no outlet for its dangerous characters. Hayti is Africanized, but the same circumstances can not exist in the South; and the Americans are a different people from the French colonists of Hayti. The South has an outlet for its dangerous characters in the North, which operates as a safety-valve. Desperation in the Southern negro turns its energies to means of escape. This carries off the element that would form the leaders of insurrection. Although the Southern people do not seem to appreciate the advantages of the Northern escape-valve, it really promotes their safety. Besides, the necessary measures for their own protection, will naturally make the South a military people; and their form of society creates just the elements for this purpose. This may be seen already in the fact that the military spirit is much stronger in the South than in the North, as is shown by their fondness for military titles. The low estimate in which labor must necessarily be held in slave society, would induce all of the whites who are compelled to earn their own living, to accept eagerly any employment which public opinion made honorable. A regular army would be a service which would be sought for in the South. It would furnish an honorable position for the large class of poor relations of the aristocracy; and thus would have the same hold upon the wealthy classes that the British army has; and the condition of society will make service in all grades to be regarded as more honorable than labor. This will furnish the South a guard for its own protection, and a strong and ready force for enterprises for territorial extension.

A Southern Republic will be the opening of an unlimited market for African slaves. Laws do not govern this matter. If they did, then would the slave-trade with Cuba be stopped; for it is prohibited by all possible legislation on the Island, and by solemn treaties with all the Great Powers. The laws of the Union against the slave-trade

could not be enforced in any of the Gulf States, while in the Union. The slave-trade will have in the Cotton States the protection of all the pro-slavery fanaticism of the people. A citizen who should now attempt to interfere with a cargo of freshly-imported Africans, in any of the Gulf States, would be treated as an Abolitionist—a treatment which would carry strong conviction to his opinions on the subject.

In this section we are accustomed to think that the Northern slave States will prevent the opening of the slave-trade, because the slaveholders there are opposed to it. Even if they were, they can do nothing but legislate; and the whole world knows that legislation can not stop the slave-trade. But the slaveholders of the slave-breeding States do not comprise more than one-tenth of the voters; and probably not one-fifth of the voters who represent the ultra pro-slavery sentiment. The few slaveholders would not control the matter; but the many who would be slaveholders. It is notorious that in South Carolina and in the other cotton States, the non-slaveholders are the slave-trade party. The slaveholders of the border States would no more be able to control this than they were the Secession movement, to which they were generally opposed. It is by no means certain that if a proposition to open the African slave-trade were submitted to the popular vote even in Kentucky, it would be defeated.

Would foreign Powers prevent? In the first place, they can not. If, with the slave market restricted to the narrow Island of Cuba, 30,000 slaves are landed in Cuba annually, how can the trade be stopped when 2,000 miles of coast are open to it, comprising, with its inlets and bays, several thousand more, and, with its reefs and hundreds of secluded inlets, furnishing places where slaves would be safe from approach or even discovery?

Foreign Powers can not suppress the slave trade, and it is unlikely that they would continue the effort. The Southern Republic would not aid it; and the Northern Republic would withdraw from all responsibility for the slave-trade, abroad as well as at home. The North will not continue to pay eight millions a year to maintain a fleet on the African coast, to keep King Badahung supplied with cheap slaves to sacrifice to his deceased father, instead of

selling them to the trader for Southern plantations, where, instead of appeasing the soul of the late King of Dahomey, they may have a chance to work out the salvation of their own souls; and where they will increase the products which the world needs, and will add greatly to all the other branches of trade and industry. When the North is severed from all connection with slavery, the slave-trade will be to them only a question between slavery as it is in Africa, and as it is in the Southern Republic; and few will say that slavery in Dahomey and Ashantee, is so much better than plantation life, that the difference will be worth eight millions a year to us; especially when the latter makes cheap cotton and sugar, and enlarges the market for Northern products and manufactures. If the Southern Republic wants the effort to stop the trade continued, it will have to continue it. It will cease to be our affair, and we will have nothing in our policy to connect us with the question of slavery in the South.

With the opening of a market for African slaves in the Cotton States, the alliance for suppressing the trade will drop to pieces. England, which is the bulwark of that alliance, has been hitherto sustained in her philanthropy, by its restricting the competition between the products of slave labor and those of her own West India Islands. But when the slave-trade will increase the product of cotton, her philanthropy will be in direct conflict with her interest. This would be reversing the usual order of these motives in the British mind; and it is not difficult to foresee which must succumb. The British mind is eminently conservative; and distinguished as its philanthropy is, it is always subservient to its interest.

England and France are looking earnestly for means to increase the supply of cotton, and reduce its price. Both are seriously entertaining projects for the importation of Coolies into their tropical colonies, which are but slightly, if any, preferable to what the slave-trade would be, if relieved from hostile cruisers. The opening of the cotton States to the African slave-trade, would solve the problem of cheap cotton for them. They would have no excuse for hostility to a trade so much like their own imports of labor; and their interest would be directly against it. No matter what course they may pursue, a Southern Republic is the

opening of a market as broad as a continent, for slaves. But it requires only a little sagacity to see that the opening of that market will be the end of the anti-slave-trade alliance, either by its own natural dissolution, or by direct treaty with the Southern Republic.

The opening of the South to the importation of laborers from teeming Africa, will give the same impetus to Southern prosperity that the North derives from the emigration of free laborers from Europe. Southern productions will be greatly increased, and the Southern demand for the products of other industry, increased in proportion. And, with an unlimited supply of laborers to draw on, it will be the manifest destiny of the Southern Republic to overrun all the neighboring territory that is adapted to their great staples. The military spirit and organization, referred to in the beginning of this article, which naturally grow out of the relation of slavery to labor, will make them a people well adapted to acquisitions by conquest from weaker nations, when they have a supply of laborers to make their acquisitions available.

This increase in slave products will be felt in all the channels of commerce, and in all the branches of industry which are affected by slave production, and by the Southern demand for the commodities of other industry. Trade and industry abroad will receive vastly more benefit from slave-laborers than from the same number of free emigrants. A little reflection will show this. The proceeds of a free laborer in agriculture, are chiefly devoted to improving his own place and increasing his stock. In these he puts his profits; and this we in the North regard as adding to the wealth of the country. But the laborer retains the wealth in his own hands.

On the contrary, a slave laborer is employed in converting the wealth of the soil into exportable commodities. These are transferred abroad, to make materials of wealth there. The habits of the master also transfer much of the proceeds abroad in some shape. Nothing stops with the laborer, and the land becomes exhausted and abandoned. This accounts for the abandonment of worn-out lands in Virginia—a feature unknown in the North, where lands increase in value in spite of their deterioration.

Slavery is like gold mining. It takes the natural wealth of the soil and transfers it into the channels of trade. It transports the richness of the soil to other countries, while free labor keeps it at home, and accumulates wealth upon it in other forms. This, briefly, is the reason why the addition of a slave laborer adds so much more to the trade and commerce of other countries, having relations to slave products, than the accession of a free laborer.

The increased production which the importation of laborers will cause in the South, will give a great impetus to commerce and to all branches of industry connected with it. Commercial relations will be greatly extended between the South and all the countries with which she has natural relations of trade. Skilled industry will ever appropriate to itself the lion's share of the profits of Southern production. Emancipated from political questions, and from the sectional hostility which grows out of a yoking of discordant elements, the laws of trade will resume their sway between the South and the North; and their commercial relations will extend without limit. Then the two forms of industry will have an opportunity to run their course untrammelled by each other; and the prosperity of each will result to mutual benefit.

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